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A Reorientation of Radicalism

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Drive on Revolutionary Spain

DEVERE ALLEN

Federal Housing

HENRY J. ROSNER

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**Methodists
Turn
Socialistic**

CHARLES C. WEBBER



comfort and decency level of living." Public control, not social ownership, is relied upon to bring order out of chaos, and private property in the chief instruments of production and distribution is to be perpetuated. Industry in general is now to be regarded as a public utility, but decades of experience in attempting to control privately owned utilities offer little hope that the public interest can be adequately safeguarded. On the contrary, there is abundant reason to fear that the enormous increase in power of industrialists through domination of the trade associations will enable big business all the more completely to control government. The very increase of power of the trade unions may prove to be reactionary in its consequences if they continue to maintain conservative policies.

To the extent that the act is effective, it will stabilize capitalism; to the degree that it fails to restore prosperity, it will pave the way for a more drastic dictatorship of big business over government. There is nothing in this legislation to cause Socialists to refrain even for a second from proclaiming that nothing short of social ownership and operation of the major industries, together with the utilization of the proceeds for the welfare of the people on the principle of substantial equality of economic privilege for all, will make possible the creation of a satisfactory social order.

Chaos, Inc.

In less than a week before it got under way, the World Economic Conference went definitely on the rocks. To be sure, outwardly the sessions will continue; the pessimistic Mr. Moley will lend his lugubrious countenance to the proceedings; committees and commissions will draft excellent and detailed summaries of programs to set the world in order. One commission will need to address itself specifically to the task of toning down the earlier predictions of collapse for the tottering economic system in the event of failure, and to the work of making, in the well-known manner of conferences, failure look like success. Unless a miracle of fact or propaganda is vouchsafed, the net result will be a deepened conviction, all the world around, that the old pathways of economic go-as-you-please are best.

But the blame, we fear, cannot be attributed to the procedure at the conference. In large measure, the blame dates back to the policies followed by the last two Republican Administrations and not yet courageously reversed, the press agents notwithstanding, by Mr. Roosevelt. For example, there are the war debts. This country stands labelled a welsher in the eyes of Europe; for when a stroke of economic sanity descended like a bolt of sudden lightning upon the Lausanne Conference last summer, we pledged ourselves to reduce the war debts drastically in order to meet the reduction of reparations to some \$714,000,000 by the

late allies; we broke our agreement because, largely, of Mr. Hoover's timidity and political ineptitude. Yet Mr. Roosevelt, for all his boasted ability as a ring-master, has not been able to stand Congress on its head about the war debts any better than Mr. Hoover. He has sent it back home, but his chief recourse was to act, internationally speaking, as if the debts were a settled question not to be brought up at London. MacDonald for once was the realist, in forcing them into the discussions. For until this vexing problem is handled finally, generously and convincingly, all the other economic arrangements will be in danger of crumbling. It is not that the sums are really stupendous of themselves; what is inescapably important is that they have become enwrapped in emotion and nationalistic sentiment; and this, in turn, has repercussions of the greatest portent on national policies.

While the dollar see-saws up and down, Mr. Roosevelt has decided, he can agree to no binding stabilization. Therefore, unless the experience of England is of no instructive value, there will be a long period, possibly half a year, of marking time. Meanwhile, the silver wooers and the bimetalists will make their speeches, all to no end; for while bimetalism is per-



Prada (Moscow)

Moscow Looks at the World Economic Conference

fectly sound in theory in a world whose long-time curve of gold production shows a decline in spite of recent abnormal productivity, it becomes as treacherous as quicksand unless there can be enforced a complete international control of speculation in either metal or both. In practical terms only a united return to gold and a pegged valuation would be of adequate assistance; neither of which, however, will be of any aid unless put through by hard and fast international manipulation with the eradication of the speculative element.

The same thing is true, even more obviously, with tariffs. The boldest thing that has yet come out of our delegation was the reputed appeal for a ten per cent flat reduction in tariff rates, subsequently denied at that! The absurdity of such a method of tariff reduction is only exceeded by the one other feasible method under existing conditions, namely the creation of a sound tariff schedule, item by item, expressed in terms of world-wide trade.

But for all these arrangements economic nationalism is too strong. Men like Keynes and other economists are not bidding the nations to seek the way out by following their separate nationalistic paths because they prefer the doctrines of isolation and anarchism. Whether they know it or not, it is because the capitalist system simply cannot function on any sound international basis. You cannot build a structure on the keystone of rivalry and dedicate it to the process of coöperation. One bit of shocking proof after another has been furnished to the world since the end of the War. The great steel cartel was announced with prophetic language as the savior of Europe; it crashed on the ledge of the private-profit system. Nationalistic economics sent to oblivion the excellent theoretical reports of the Tariff Truce Commissions, as also of the various Gold Delegations appointed by the League. The wheat pool, the nitrate cartel, the sugar combine—one by one they have proved impotent.

Allow, for a moment, a little exercise of utopian imagination. Picture around the tables at Kensington the delegates of Socialist countries, infused with a united purpose, not the preservation of national prestige but the destruction of it; delegates, because of their unity, able to plan the allocation of raw materials, to regulate the flow of goods without the profit element which is the root of the tariff issue; delegates fired with the ambition to achieve complete economic harmony on an international scale for the all-important reason that world socialism could not thrive on any other basis. The very contrast is provocative. An unfair picture? Possibly. Yet realism, if it errs here, errs infinitely more when it seeks to convert into outward concord economic principles and practices that are at bottom anarchistic. Chaos, Inc., pays no dividends.

Hitler's Foreign Policy

Chancellor Hitler has two foreign policies, and the fact is that political exigencies have forced this ambiguity upon him. One of these contemplates the violent overthrow of "fulfillment" diplomacy, by which the Germans mean the policy of fulfilling the Dawes, plan, the Young plan, Locarno, etc., and of hoping that this virtuous submission to the demands of the Allies will finally soften the hearts of the French and give Germany equal status with other European nations. With this policy all Germans, of every rank and class, have definitely broken, and Hitler in this instance is really the voice of the entire nation.

By his outspoken criticisms of the policy of fulfillment Hitler has re-established national self-respect. What Germans intend to declare by their support of his policy might be put in the words: "We acknowledge ourselves a defeated nation but we disavow any connotation of moral inferiority which the victors try to attach to our status."

Hitler has given the German people a certain psychic release from their sense of enslavement. But his recent avowal of peaceful intentions proves that he cannot go beyond that. The speech he made might well have been delivered by a Bruening. In fact it was made after two hours of consultation with Bruening. In actual policy Hitler must, in other words, continue the program of fulfillment. He is forced to work within the framework of the present treaties. Why? For the very simple reason that the superior force of French arms makes any other policy suicidal. The advent of the Nazis had made the French very nervous, and they were threatening a "preventive war." The English, moreover, did not seem as inclined to support Germany against French peril as the naïve Nazis had imagined.

The fact is that the Hitler regime is not particularly astute, and it is especially ignorant in foreign affairs. It had originally only one idea for foreign policy, and that idea, worked out by Herr Rosenberg, Hitler's "expert" in foreign policy, was that Germany, with the coöperation of England and Italy, would throw off the French yoke. The idea was much too simple. But the truth is that England is less sympathetic to Germany now than it has been for years. Nazi anti-Semitism has estranged it and so has the peril of a war. England may be counted on to work gradually for a balance of power in Europe which will destroy French hegemony. But it will not support a crude diplomacy which has the peril of immediate war in it. Nor is Mussolini as sympathetic toward Nazi Germany as all of the addresses about the affinity between Italian fascism and German national socialism, delivered in Berlin and Rome, would make it appear. The reason for this is very obvious. Mussolini does not desire the union of Germany and

Austria, so fervently demanded by the Nazis. There is a rumor that Poland threatened Berlin with an air attack from Posen if the latter's belligerent foreign policy was continued. That threat is supposed to explain the elaborate genuflections which Hitler made before the Poles, something that no German in high command has dared to do since the conclusion of the War. Poland has been more or less beneath contempt in the eyes of the Germans. A better reason for Hitler's concessions to Poland is the strong "racial" note in his state idea. If nationality is the basis of statehood, the Nazis obviously cannot deny the legitimacy of the Polish state.

If Hitler declares that Germany needs peace for the next ten years, that can be accepted as an honest statement. Germany, through his mouth, will talk defiantly, but in every specific issue she will eat humble pie, perhaps to a larger degree than under the previous governments, whose humility Hitler affects to despise. He must go further in conciliation because he has united a very divided nation by force, and he knows very well that his handiwork will not survive a war. Let national conscription be introduced into Germany and an international conflict would quickly be turned into a class war.

After Decades of Enslavement

The certainty that Germany will not disturb the peace in the next decade does not imply the guarantee of ultimate peace. The policy of France is too intransigent for that. Such is the tragic shortsightedness of the human spirit that every war has in it the seed of another war. Victories unduly exploited breed new wars. The Germans were honestly pacifistic after the World War. Their hope that they would again be received into the Western society of nations on terms of equal status has been gradually destroyed. The Allies will not disarm and they will not permit Germany to arm. That is a settled norm of French policy, and thus peace is maintained in Europe by force of French arms. But every year of such a peace adds to the fuel of the next war. If civilization is to escape utter destruction, the victorious nations will have to learn to bridle their will-to-power to a larger degree than now seems probable. If they do not, it is foolish to place the blame for the ultimate catastrophe upon those who have been made desperate by decades of enslavement.

In Berlin at the present moment a drama is being presented under government auspices which lets one peer with disillusioned eyes into the dark future. The play is entitled simply "Schlageter." Schlageter was a young army officer whom the Hitlerites have raised to the status of a national hero. He belonged to a little group of men who regarded the policy of passive resistance at the time the French entered the Ruhr as treason against Germany. They declared that this in-

vasion was war and should have been met by measures of war. Accordingly they tried surreptitiously to offer resistance to the French by blowing up bridges and railroads and committing other acts of sabotage. Schlageter was apprehended and executed by the French. The Nazis now call him "the first soldier of the third Reich." The drama which depicts his tragedy pours scorn upon pacifism and the socialistic government which supported passive resistance. The military past of Germany is glorified. Liberalism, pacifism, socialism and democracy are all placed beneath contempt by being put into the category of "fruits of bourgeois enlightenment." For modern Germany that is the worst that can be said about anything.

In the reception room of Hitler's office there is but one picture. It is a large oil painting of cruel French officers beating down Schlageter before his execution. That picture, together with the play, is symbolic of the new Germany. That country is not so foolish as to want a war at the present time. But the sense of injustice rankles, and there is no prospect of ultimate peace in its state of mind.

The Future of Civil Disobedience

Now that Mr. Gandhi has survived his 21-day fast, many questions are being raised as to the future of the civil disobedience movement in India. There is a widespread opinion in the United States that the Mahatma has proved himself to be an unwise and impractical leader and that his political followers are rapidly deserting him. The idea is also prevalent that the British government is moving steadily forward with plans for a new Indian government which will carry that country a long way toward Dominion status.

The available evidence seems to us, however, to point to opposite conclusions. Mr. Gandhi's popularity and influence have never been greater than at this moment. His selfless devotion and astounding fortitude have again deeply moved the heart of India and have intensified the affection of the masses for him. After his release from prison, Mr. Gandhi made clear his position: "I can only say that my views about civil disobedience have undergone no change whatsoever."

Opposition to the proposed government outlined in the British White Paper, following the three Round Table Conferences is increasing in volume and intensity. Even the Liberal Federation has published a vigorous indictment of the new scheme. It will be remembered that this party is composed of moderates who are opposed to the program of civil disobedience and who have been extremely critical of Mr. Gandhi and the National Congress. Upon its leaders the British have been depending for support in launching the new Government of India Act when finally completed. Yet an official declaration says bluntly: "The National

Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. . . . These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Governments." Then follows a long detailed list of grievances, ending with these words: "In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals, as they stand, cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, aggravate the present unhappy conditions and further alienate public opinion from the Government and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent."

The basis for this complaint is easily detected when one examines the White Paper, or listens to the debate on India. In defending the Government against the charge made by Winston Churchill and his followers that too much power is being surrendered to Indians, Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, on the floor of the House of Commons on March 27 revealed some of the reasons for Indian hostility to the proposals: "In India the Governor-General, the Provincial Governors and other high officials are still to be appointed by the Crown. The security Services, the executive officers of the Federal and Provincial Governments, are still to be recruited and protected by Parliament. The Army, the ultimate power in India, is to remain under the undivided control of Parliament. Those are no paper safeguards. Here are the heads of Government endowed with great powers, and given . . . the means of carrying those powers into effect."

In view of the highly unsatisfactory history of British Labor's policy toward Indian freedom, it is refreshing to note the vigor with which spokesmen for the Labor Party have condemned the proposals of the White Paper. Major Attlee, for example, said: "... we have this White Paper, which seems to me to be in direct conflict with principles and with pledges . . . the whole idea of Dominion status has entirely gone . . . even as the ultimate goal. . . . Let us see what kind of Legislature is set up. We have two houses set up of equal power, and we have the most reactionary Council of State. . . . It will make things safe for property and privilege. It will be a wonderful pillar for the vested interests . . . unless great alterations are made in this document I very much fear for the future of peace in India." Colonel Wedgwood was equally blunt: "We are giving them so conservative a Constitution that nothing can ever change it."

It remained for Winston Churchill, the arch-Tory,

to summarize most vividly the powers retained by Britain under the new proposals: "The Viceroy or Governor-General is armed with all the powers of a Hitler or a Mussolini. There is practically nothing that he cannot do in the sphere of the Army and foreign affairs. He has the power to tax apart from the Legislature; he has the right to safeguard minorities; he has the right to safeguard the interests of the Civil Service; he has the right to safeguard the interests of the native States; he is authorized to prevent commercial discrimination. All these great powers are confided to him. By a stroke of the pen he can scatter the Constitution and decree any law he pleases, or martial law, which is no law at all. Of all these he is the sole judge. Such a functionary is a dictator, and he has behind him a very powerful army."

The cumulative evidence leaves no basis for hope that the British Government will voluntarily grant autonomy or Dominion status to India within the near future. The evidence is even more overwhelming that India will never accept the proposals of the White Paper. The consent of the governed has already been withdrawn and Britain can continue to rule India only by oppression and tyranny. During 1932 more than 100,000 Indian patriots were imprisoned for political offences and temporarily the Congress appears to be crushed. But even the moderates are being embittered and India's determination to be free grows steadily more resolute. Britain cannot eventually win. The tides of Indian nationalism and the immeasurable influence of the Mahatma will in the end prove to be irresistible.

The Return of Social Legislation

The progressive spirit which came into American political life between 1910 and 1917 resulted in the passage of a considerable amount of protective labor legislation. Workmen's compensation laws became firmly established, child labor laws were passed, legislation on working hours for women became the order of the day in all except the most backward regions, and a dozen states ventured to fix minimum wages for women. Some of these gains were, to be sure, lost by the reaction of the Twenties, which carried the Supreme Court with it and which seemed to sound the knell of social progress.

Destructive as the depression has been in most ways, it has produced a distinct shift in the popular mind-set. People now realize that individual effort is not enough and that there must be social protection if men are really to be free. It is surely significant therefore that in the current year old-age pension acts have been passed by no less than ten states, that minimum wage laws, upon a revised but no less effective basis, have been enacted in six states, and that thus far six states have ratified the proposed child labor amendment. Al-

though no unemployment insurance act, save that of Wisconsin, has yet been put through, bills providing one system or another have passed one branch of the legislature in four states only to be held up in the other. Perhaps most important of all is the fact that the Industrial Recovery Act gives to the government the power to fix minimum wages and maximum hours in return for suspending the Sherman Anti-trust Law and at the time opens the way to a wider unionization of labor if the A. F. of L. leaders have only the wit and energy to move.

There can be no doubt that the old hostility to social legislation is lifting and that the individual is to have more protection. Such legislation is not enough in itself to create a good society, but it is one step towards it, and one necessary ingredient.

Will the Present Revival Last?

It is undeniable that we are now in the midst of a moderate business revival, which has not only carried prices up, but has increased production in certain basic lines. Nearly everywhere people are asking whether this means that the end of the depression is in sight and whether purely natural agencies, without governmental action, will be sufficient to restore prosperity.

It is our belief that they will not and that the present revival is largely caused by the depreciation of American exchange abroad and the prospect of deflation. The depreciation of the dollar, which followed our going off the gold standard, meant that our exporters of cotton, lard, tobacco and wheat, selling at the same foreign prices as before, were able to obtain more dollars, and this created a rise in the prices of those raw materials. Our imports of certain other commodities, such as leather and wool, were reduced because the depreciation of the dollar meant that for the same American price the foreigners received a lower return in terms of their own currencies. This curtailment of imports naturally resulted in raising the prices of these commodities, but as long as the external depreciation of the dollar remained greater than the internal rise this advantage in part continued. The rise in prices stimulated business men to buy and to fabricate more raw material lest, if they delayed, they might find later prices still higher. This in turn required more bank loans and the creation of further monetary purchasing power.

All this is excellent so far as it goes. When, however, the dollar stops depreciating abroad and is stabilized, this continuing advantage is likely to be removed. Moreover, when the increased goods produced by industry are ready for consumption, we are likely to find, unless further definitive action is undertaken by the government, that, with at least twelve million urban unemployed workers and four million families on relief, the purchasing power of the masses will prove insufficient to purchase those goods at a profit to the pro-

ducer. In this event business is likely to go into a state of relapse.

The Administration is therefore wise in pushing its public works program and in creating more purchasing power which will go into the hands of both workers and producers of capital goods. Since the indirect stimulation will be at least as great as the direct, we may expect the expenditure of three billion, three hundred million dollars to increase the national income by not less than seven billions. Even this, however, is not nearly enough, and it is clear, therefore, that we need a larger appropriation for public works.

Finally, if under the Industrial Recovery Act the various major industries are ultimately permitted appreciably to reduce their output as compared with the 1929 level, we are likely to find that a very large number of the present unemployed will not be reabsorbed into the present industrial system, and unless new channels of employment are opened up by the government they will remain more or less permanently unemployed. The problems of controlling capitalism under the profit system promise indeed to be far more difficult than some of the blither members of the brain trust seem to contemplate.

Ernst Eckstein, Hitler Victim

Two years ago this month, at the quadrennial Congress of the Labor and Socialist International at Vienna, one of the outstanding younger leaders of German socialism who was obviously rebellious against Social-Democratic compromises gave evidence of potential revolt. Later on, Dr. Ernst Eckstein applied his brilliant and winsome talents to the formation of the German Socialist Workers' Party, which, along with the British Independent Labor Party and similar militant Socialist parties in Holland, Poland and elsewhere, established itself as a fraternal union of protest against conservative socialism without following the banner of communism. Centering in Breslau, Prussia, the German Socialist Workers' Party, while not yet numerous, had attained to considerable moral prestige when the tragic events of last spring took place.

They were indeed tragic for Eckstein himself, who has recently died, a victim of Nazi terrorization. Information regarding his treatment was held back for a long time, but finally, upon his demise, a cryptic statement was issued announcing his death from inflammation of the lungs and kidneys. Subsequently, however, information was obtained by his friends that Ernst Eckstein had been arrested "for protection" and cruelly beaten; periodic tortures reduced him to so low a state of health that life seemed hardly worth living. His face scarred, his body broken, his mind assured of endless tortures ahead, Eckstein saved up portions of sleeping tablets given him by a physician. Just before being marched to a concentration camp through a mob of jeering Nazis roaring insults and threats,

he swallowed the accumulated drugs. For ten days he lay waiting for death, which finally released him from his brutal tormenters. His loss is a bitter one for the movement as well as for those who knew his personal qualities.

Tucker Smith Heads Brookwood

The friends of Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, will be happy to learn that Tucker P. Smith, for many years the ardent and able opponent of compulsory military training in American schools and colleges, has accepted an invitation to head this extremely important workers' institution. While we cannot always follow in every particular the political convictions of A. J. Muste, former head of the college, his services to the labor cause will continue to have their constructively militant value. Thus we can now become reconciled to the thought of his absence from Brookwood, where his influence, all controversies of policy within the institution notwithstanding, has been profound and creative, because we know that he is to be followed by one so gifted in devotion and capacity. Mr. Smith had no sooner publicly accepted the offer of Brookwood than he announced a comprehensive program for the upbuilding of the institution into greater usefulness. He will find the fulfillment of this program extremely difficult; no one will appreciate that more than himself. But if dogged persistence against odds and a sincere faith in the labor movement are factors in Brookwood's success, the college is to be congratulated.

Not Merely Courage

This country's economic state of mind is revealed by a survey recently conducted by *Collier's Weekly*. Skilled interviewers talked with men and women in 79 cities and towns in 34 states about prospects for the future. In reply to the question, Do you think that present conditions of depression and unemployment will lead to future fundamental changes in our form of government such as many European countries have had? 73 per cent gave an emphatic No. Actually only three per cent expected any really fundamental reorganization of society. Even in stricken Detroit, 76 per cent foresaw no basic changes.

Whereupon the editor of *Collier's* exults: "This is an amazing expression if we contrast it with the radical differences of opinion to be found in any other country. Through good times and bad times the American creed does not change. . . . The American people have been patient, hopeful and courageous. With such a situation we should be able swiftly to accomplish all that needs doing to put our house in order." And emblazoned on a cartoon of a belligerent Uncle Sam is the challenge: "Courage."

What this country needs far more than courage is

rebellion, resolute determination no longer to endure the miseries produced by an obsolete economic and political system. It is sheer stupidity to glory in the fact that the American creed does not change. Static ideas in a torrential stream can only drift over the falls. Cataclysmic social upheavals are produced by blind reactionaries who never learn and never forget.

Chastising with Scorpions

One of the most refreshing documents we have encountered in many a day is found in a Message from the Moderator, Dr. George Lang, to the Presbyterian ministry of the synod of Alabama. If rebuke and penitence are prerequisites of spiritual vitality, then this ten-thousand-word challenge strikes a note desperately needed by the clergy and laity not alone of Alabama but of every other state. Let the Moderator speak for himself:

In the midst of a society shot through with racketeering, and its "front" of hypocrisy and scepticism in politics, business and industry, we have remained silent with the silence of unfeeling moral indifference, with silences of doubt, and have had no outraged consciences because we have stubbornly refused to have our consciences exposed to the evils which abound about us. . . . Only the blind could fail to see that our civilization was a cheap superstructure sustained by no secure foundations in character, no high purposes, and dedicated to no high ends. . . . To look back on our witness in this decadent society is to see ourselves in sorry cowardice, ineffective, and without real influence. It is not to be wondered at that we stand today discredited in moral and spiritual leadership. We did unworthy deference to men who were, and are, our inferiors both intellectually and morally. . . . We have cheapened our ministry, we have made it common; we have reduced it to the level of pose and palaver; so that even in our human relations we are insincere and unreal. . . . surely we will no longer apologize for our ministry as mind, or heart, or will, to a perverse generation whose most characteristic marks are superficiality, gaudiness, vulgarity, insincerity, bad manners, moronic thought, and "wise-cracking" platitudes. . . . How many of our elders or deacons read anything more penetrating than the familiar columnist of bright and snappy sayings? . . . It is particularly offensive that these "outstanding men" who sense little that is splendid in communication or appreciation are elected even to the offices of the Church, where social promotion is easier than in any other group. . . . Look at what only you may see: the ruins of a civilization; its poverty and its heartless cruelty. . . . We have little to hope for from our laymen. . . . Their loftiest spiritual level is a cautious morality whose achievement is respectability; and their highest intellectual attainment is some outmoded conceit. In the debacle of their civilization they have shown neither imagination nor courage. They have lost their heads; they are afraid and cowardly. It is the institutions they have erected which need a moral house-cleaning; all of them, without exception.

Lay on, Doctor, lay on, and may your action provoke similar words of chastisement from religious leaders throughout the land.

Methodists Turn Socialistic

CHARLES C. WEBBER

THE eighty-fifth session of the New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Central Church, Brooklyn, May 18-22, will go down in the history of the Conference as the session at which proposals for a change from capitalism to a socialistic economic system were openly and carefully debated.

The discussion was precipitated by the report of the Social Service Committee of the Conference, a significant section of which dealt with the "Necessity of Basic Social Change" as follows:

While the attempt to regulate "capitalism" is praiseworthy, the results to date have not been of such a character as to warrant much hope in the future. Inflation (the stabilization of prices at a higher level), the lowering of trade barriers, the adjustment of war debts, and international economic planning are now being set forth as possible solutions of the present world depression. These are not genuine cures of the sickness of our "capitalistic" society, but are salves being applied to the most conspicuous external sores. They leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our natural resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a relatively small proportion of our population.

If the ministers and members of the Christian church are to help build the Kingdom of God on earth, or if we are to live together so that God will give us His Kingdom through His grace, we must of necessity face frankly the fact that our present economic order is not satisfactory and then consider the ways and means of replacing it with a system that is more in conformity with the principles of our religion.

The Conference recognized, by a large majority, the "Necessity of Basic Social Change." In setting forth "The Approach of the Church" to social and economic issues, the Social Service Committee recommended that:

Our convictions should not simply be expressed in vague generalities. The minister should be free to throw himself actively into any movement which can be justified by the foregoing principles. He should not be partially disenfranchised in any way from doing his Christian duty on account of his profession. He should be tolerant toward the convictions of others and be liberal in spirit but he should not be limited in any way outside the pulpit from exerting himself to the utmost in criticizing the social order, in working in and for any political party, or in endeavoring to promote a basic change in any social system which disregards the supreme value of human life.

These recommendations were accepted without discussion. A remedy for the organic disease of

"capitalism" was next proposed by the Committee. It was worded as follows:

In our report of last year, after stating that "the current depression is not a mere passing phase of an otherwise satisfactory economic system but a chronic symptom of an organic disease," we recommended as a means of dealing with the fundamental evils of capitalism that "the principal means of production and distribution which are now privately owned, controlled and operated must be brought under some form of social ownership and management."

This year we wish to reiterate that recommendation and to urge specifically that the ownership of our natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil, and water-generated electricity, and of our banking institutions, railroads, steel mills, cotton, and woolen mills, etc., be transferred from private individuals and corporations to the people of the United States as a whole, who through their elected representatives and in cooperation with representatives of the workers with hand and brain shall control and operate them not for the benefit of a select few, as at present, but for the benefit of all the people, in their dual capacity as consumers and producers.

It is our conviction that if this change in our economic system, from one based on the use of private property for private profit to one based on the social ownership of property and production for use, is made within the very near future, we may be able to avert a much greater disorder of our economic life than we have at present, and that by it we can lay the foundation for a truly Christian social order.

This section provoked a debate lasting for approximately five hours. First, by a very small majority, it was referred back to the Committee to be revised. The Committee reported it back to the Conference with only minor changes, whereupon a motion to change the words "social ownership" to "social control" just barely passed. Then a substitute motion prevailed, referring the whole section to a joint committee of ministers and laymen with instructions to make a detailed report on the matter at the Conference to be held in 1934.

This debate clearly showed that the majority of the members of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church are convinced that "capitalism" must be brought under some form of social control. It also showed that a large minority is of the opinion that social control will not be adequate, and that the ownership of natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution must be transferred from private individuals and corporations to the people of the United States as a whole if a complete and devastating economic collapse is to be averted.

A Reorientation of Radicalism

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ACCORDING to newspaper dispatches, the Socialist Party in Germany has been practically destroyed. The trade unions, which have always been the real basis of the party, have been incorporated into the Fascist regime; the party treasury has been confiscated, the party press muzzled and the leaders cast into prison. What kind of party activity will be carried on underground will not be known for some time. Nor can it be known just what the young men of both the Communist and Socialist parties are doing to create a genuine united front movement.

The complete suppression of both left parties in Germany will probably lead to world-wide repercussions in the radical movement and will quite likely result in a thorough realignment of labor forces in the Western world. Since the German party was the backbone of the Second International it is highly probable that very serious damage will be done not only to German but to international socialism.

The question which all friends of labor must raise without delay is what lesson can be learned from the tragic events in Germany for the benefit of the radical movement in our own country. The most obvious answer to that question is that the Communist-Socialist division in the ranks of radicalism is suicidal to the labor cause. The forces of reaction are powerful and they are bound to exert their last ounce of feverish strength in various fascist ventures for the sake of suppressing the revolt of labor against the injustices of capitalism. Against that power a divided army simply will not avail. The radical movement in America is comparatively so small and impotent that any discussion of philosophy and strategy looking toward united action in the day of crisis seems academic: there can be no crisis and no fascist venture until labor is strong enough to make a serious bid for power and imperil the existing order.

Nevertheless, it is important to learn in youth the arts which will be required in the day of maturity. If the American labor movement cannot learn from other movements which anticipate its history by twenty-five to fifty years, it is fated to make the same mistakes and to end in the same disasters. There are, of course, peculiar circumstances in American life, as there are in every nation. Yet the conditions of Western civilization are roughly identical in the more advanced industrial nations.

The chief problem with which the German situation confronts us is how to overcome the division in the labor movement, which in Germany expressed itself

in the fratricidal strife between the Socialist and the Communist parties. That problem is not easily solved, and I shall not attempt a solution here. But a few lines of solution are rather apparent. It is quite clear, for one thing, that the division was due to the faults of both parties and not to one alone. The Socialist Party of Germany became so involved in the morass of political intrigue and maneuver, so impotent in its successive parliamentary alliances with bourgeois groups and so slavishly wedded to constitutional means at the very moment when its enemies were obviously not content to abide by the constitution, that it was absolutely inevitable that the more daring, impatient and younger elements in the world of labor should increasingly desert its leadership for the more desperate counsels and strategy of communism. Any Socialist criticism of communism which does not recognize that fact and which makes it appear that the more than five million votes of the Communist Party were secured by dint of some kind of chicanery from Moscow is just as ridiculous as the charge of reactionaries that the whole world of labor has been corrupted by "hired agitators."

IF a Socialist party is really to lead the world of labor it must do justice not only to the necessities of parliamentary action in constitutional countries (and these necessities are imperative and make any strategy directed from Moscow dangerous), but it must also do justice to the natural and justified cynicism of a great part of labor in regard to the pretensions of democracy and the dangers of parliamentary careerism, opportunism and compromise. Official socialism in both America and Germany has, on the whole, followed the fatalistic lethargy of Kautsky and is so certain that time is on the side of socialism that it feels no obligation but the one of preserving "the pure milk of the word" against corruption, meanwhile waiting for some automatic process of history to give "the word" victory. That is a criticism which can be justly levelled at least at that part of the Socialist movement in America which is chiefly interested at the present moment in purging the party of active members who have participated in various "united front" meetings and demonstrations.

But the weaknesses of socialism are not the only cause of labor's difficulties. If the Socialist Party is in many respects futile, the Communist Party, in its present tendencies, may be regarded as dangerous to the cause of radicalism in practically the entire West-

ern world. Any united front action with it is practically impossible as long as it does not observe the most elementary forms of fair play and honesty. While it offers to unite with other forces with one hand, it uses the other hand to spread slanderous lies about the activities, purposes and motives of those who are not in its camp. Its cynical dishonesties are, moreover, not incidental errors of certain party leaders; they form a very definite and unmistakable part of its policy.

The party reveals more serious weaknesses than these dishonesties, however. It is a party led from Moscow. Moscow knows very little about the Western world. A successful revolution was conducted there, and Russia is therefore certain that it has an unflinching pattern for radical action in the entire world. It is becoming daily more apparent that no party so led will have a policy resilient and resourceful enough to conduct the cause of labor successfully. Effective political action demands strict loyalty to principle, but it also demands a statesmanlike recognition of all the factors involved in a situation. This the Communist Party cannot give. Its vituperations and desperate strategies will always appeal to the most completely disinherited portion of the population. But a successful radical movement in any Western country must count on the coöperation of a portion of the middle class and upon laborers who are defrauded but not completely dispossessed. A radical movement must not underestimate the power and the resolution of a retreating reactionary movement, as the Socialist Party inclines to do; but neither must it try to fit the complexities of Western political life into a too simple pattern of revolution, as the Communists do.

IT is a question, moreover, whether a party taking its orders from Moscow could succeed in any Western country even if those orders were more completely oriented by the peculiar circumstances of Western life. Communism has completely underestimated the sentiment of nationalism. It is a very evil thing to become the slave of nationalism as the Socialist Party did in Germany during and after the War. But it is also dangerous to outrage national sentiments which are not eradicated as easily as a rationalistic communism assumes. The workers, according to the dictum of Karl Marx, have no country. Ethically speaking, that is true; but it is not true psychologically, if the history of past decades is proof. Men must be more completely disinherited than any Western nation tends to disinherit them before they adopt the cynical attitude, upon which communism insists, toward their national history and toward whatever virtues and excellencies may inhere in their national tradition. Fascism could never make use of national sentiment as outrageously as it does if com-

munist did not place that weapon in its hand. Communism should not be held responsible for the whole phenomenon of nationalistic fascism, because it has been an unvarying device of tottering oligarchies to hide the nakedness of their greed in the folds of the national flag; but it must be held responsible for the degree of hysterical nationalism which fascism is able to win to its support. It represents outraged national sentiments avenging themselves.

A successful radical movement must be sophisticated and objective about such forces as national sentiment. But it cannot afford to disregard them and give their power into the hands of its foes. For this reason it is quite probable that any successful radical movement in the Western world must be completely indigenous. It will be Marxian if it is realistic, because Marxism gives the key to the real facts of capitalistic civilization. It will not be diverted by the innumerable liberal corruptions of Marxism which are bound to spring up in a nation as thoroughly middle-class as our own. But Marxism must be acclimatized in every nation. In this respect the British, who began with a pseudo-Marxism and who are gradually being forced to the purer Marxian doctrine by their own experience, are much better off than the Socialist Party of any other Western nation. They are achieving a political doctrine out of their own national experience which will carry them farther than the Germans went with what they regarded as more orthodox radicalism.

AMERICA is literally full of radicals and intellectuals who coöperate with communism, even though they have secret doubts about its efficacy, merely because they are unable to find sufficient realism in other quarters. If these groups have any real intellectual resources, they will stop their coöperation with a party about the adequacy of whose strategy and the possibility of whose success they have such grave doubts. They will set themselves the task of developing doctrines and strategies which fit into the American situation and take account of the various important factors in American life which communism disregards. The task of building a party is of course not chiefly a theoretical one. The distress of the country is producing and will continue to create revolutionary sentiment, and this sentiment must be organized. But some honest spade work must also be done in the field of theory.

The hour is too critical and the day is too far advanced to make mutual recriminations between traditional Socialists and doctrinaire Communists profitable. They have both failed in Germany. That is an irrefutable fact. The question is: What can be done in our own country to avoid their mistakes and, above all, to avert that greatest of all mistakes, the division of the labor world?

Revive the U.S. Housing Corporation

HENRY J. ROSNER

THERE is a growing conviction in Washington that a mobilization of the construction industry for a war upon the slums of the United States would have a profound effect in breaking the back of the depression. With 40,000,000 Americans needing to be rehoused, and with private construction operating at only 15 per cent of normal, nothing would seem more logical.

Unfortunately our New Deal statesmen learn little from experience. They are busily pushing a housing program for the nation which has already proved a failure in New York State, namely, the method of government aid for so-called "limited dividend" housing corporations. The National Recovery Act empowers the President to make loans to such corporations. New York's experience is well worth analyzing at a time when seven states have set out to follow in her footsteps and the Federal government is encouraging many others to do likewise.

In 1926 the New York Legislature created a State Housing Board to stimulate the organization of limited dividend corporations. Groups electing to come under its jurisdiction are granted the privileges of local tax exemption on buildings and exemption from the state income tax. In return, dividends are limited to six per cent and the rentals to a maximum of \$12.50 a room on Manhattan Island, and \$11 elsewhere in the state. High standards of housing construction are also prescribed and enforced by the Board. One-third of the capital is raised by the organizers of the corporation through the sale of common stock; the other two-thirds by mortgages or bonds which are legal investments for insurance companies, savings banks, trust funds, etc.

What have been the achievements under this law? In the seven years of its operation homes have been built for 7,500 people at an average rental of \$11 a room per month. All of the construction has been in New York City. Although the dwellings have been of a high order, far superior to ordinary, commercial ventures at the same price, the rentals are much too high for the dweller in the worst of the city's slums. His problem can only be solved by housing at five or six dollars a room.

Moreover, capital has not been forthcoming in sufficient quantities, even if the rentals were low enough, to adequately meet the problem. Two millions of New York City's population now live in so-called old-law tenements, the construction of which has been forbidden for more than 30 years. Forgetting the rent-

als for a moment, at the present rate of progress under the limited dividend housing law, it would take 1,600 years to provide decent homes for those who now inhabit New York's squalid tenements.

The difficulty with limited dividend housing is that it must depend upon wealthy philanthropists. Unless there is a strong interest in housing reform, money is not forthcoming. Why should the ordinary capitalist go to the trouble of organizing a limited dividend housing corporation when the profit is so meagre? He can buy the stocks of an established public utility corporation, which are safer and more lucrative and require no exertion on his part. The French Housing project in New York City is an exception to the rule, because Mr. French had invested \$5,000,000 in the acquisition of sites for a speculative housing development which was subsequently wrecked by the depression. He would never have bothered with the State Housing Board if that had not been the only way to obtain Federal government funds to salvage his investment.

The fact that public funds are now available does not materially alter the situation. Before the depression it was easy to get mortgage money for limited dividend housing projects from the insurance companies and savings banks. The government simply takes the place of the mortgage companies. It does not substantially decrease the difficulty of interesting financially responsible people in undertaking the task of organization and the supplying of one-third to one-sixth of the necessary capital.

It is hard to conceive of a sillier way to solve the housing problem. The government recognizes its responsibility for better homes by providing public moneys for this purpose. Then it assumes an attitude of "watchful waiting." If private groups come forward with suitable plans for utilizing these funds, the mortgage money from the public treasury will be loaned. Otherwise nothing will be done.

CONTRAST this policy of passivity with the positive action of the Federal government in 1917. Very few remember that the authorities did a magnificent housing job during the World War. Here is a chapter in our history which the "rugged individualists" would like us to forget. The story is well worth retelling. It shows the technique which must be applied if the slums are to be wiped out on a scale to reduce materially the impact of the economic crisis. Shortly after hostilities began, it became clear that the

efficient manufacture of munitions was dependent upon the provision of adequate housing accommodations for munitions workers. Great war industries sprang up over night in places like Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Erie, Pennsylvania. Highly paid skilled workers, after flocking to these towns to man the factories, found a shortage of decent homes. The result was a high labor turnover. The men were unwilling to stay on unless suitable dwellings were provided for their families. But the war had to be won even if the state had to invade the sacred reservations of profit-seeking private building enterprise. So the United States government went directly into the business of constructing homes for war workers.

In July, 1918, Congress created the United States Housing Corporation as a division of the Department of Labor. Between that date and the armistice, a period of 109 days, plans were gotten under way for 128 projects in 71 communities. Specifications for 83 were completed; contracts for 60 were let, and in 40 instances construction was started. With the termination of hostilities, the work was almost completely abandoned. Only where construction was well advanced was it continued. In all, 6,148 family units were finished; 452 were transferred to government departments for the use of their employees, while 5,696 were sold to individual home seekers at the unusually low price of \$3,165. The terms of payment were comparatively light—10 per cent cash, one per cent monthly on the principal, and six per cent interest on the balance remaining unpaid.

THE corporation is still in existence. Its only activity at the present time is to collect the money owing on the purchase price. Experts are agreed that construction was of a high order. The buildings still stand as monuments to the ability of government to furnish decent homes for the workers. One Congressional Report has severely criticized the corporation for building better dwellings than the masses were accustomed to, and for wasting time on town planning.

Measure the record of the United States Housing Corporation against that of limited dividend companies in New York. In seven years the New York State Housing Board has provided under its jurisdiction homes for 1,900 families, which is less than one-third of the number built by the United States Housing Corporation in a year. One year ago the R. F. C. was authorized to advance funds for housing to limited dividend corporations, and not a single project is under way, although two have been approved. The war record, moreover, would have been much better if it had not been for the pressure of selfish private real estate interests, who forced the abandonment of plans to provide homes for another 15,000 families.

The comparison affords a striking insight into

American statesmanship. The irony of it is that government housing for the workers should be a by-product of the manufacture of munitions! These homes were not built primarily that workers might be able to bring up their families amidst decent physical surroundings, but to increase the efficiency of the men employed in war industries. It is high time that the same vigorous policies were pursued in waging a constructive war upon the slum, poverty, and unemployment.

The nation should have a ten-year plan to rehouse the 40,000,000 Americans compelled by a system of speculative building to live in homes that no really civilized community would tolerate for a moment. The annual cost would be \$3,500,000,000 a year. Economists estimate that every dollar spent on construction becomes \$3 in wages both directly and indirectly. This program, therefore, would mean steady employment for 5,000,000 people for the next ten years. The houses would be partially self-liquidating. Probably one-half of the government's investment would be returned from rentals. States' rights and home-rule advocates doubtless will be horrified at the idea of the Federal government going into local communities and building houses. Ideally, of course, this should be a normal function of local government. The time, however, is much too short and the emergency much too serious to wait upon the action of innumerable state and local governments, which in too many instances are closely allied with powerful real estate groups hostile to government housing. To avoid undue centralization the national government should provide funds for local agencies wherever these are prepared to build in accordance with prescribed standards.

A nation that builds and mans battleships from taxes should be willing to pay at least one-half of the capital costs of decent homes for the workers from taxes. To get such a program under way with dispatch and a minimum of waste motion requires the revival of the United States Housing Corporation. The men responsible for its original success should be recalled. Nothing would please them better at a time when private construction is practically at a standstill.

Who's Who in This Issue

Charles C. Webber is industrial secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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The Drive on Revolutionary Spain

DEVERE ALLEN

NO revolution, however bloodless, can escape continued counter-revolution; no achievements of a revolutionary regime, however amazing, can avoid a persistent flood of misrepresentation, chiefly from anti-revolutionary sources though sometimes from the Left. The Spanish revolution is no exception to the rule. Let an attack upon the revolution come in full force, whether it be strongly motivated or fantastic, and the press, the spokesmen of special interests, and the usual advance guard of teacup revolutionary theorists will unite to fill the mind of the unsophisticated observer with confusion and distrust.

A false picture of Spanish affairs had been painted for outsiders even before the revolution broke. In fact, one might complain against those French romantic writers, like Gautier, who went into Spain years ago and emerged to flood the world with lyric rhapsodies about gay caballeros, or the glamorous humming of *flamenco* ballads on moonlit balconies. All this was there; even Bizet's *Carmen* was founded on more than mere sensationalism; there were actually bandits in the hills—though today thousands of Spanish boys read weekly the latest exploits, in cheap thrillers, of *Los Bandidos de Chicago*.

The concept of a Spain filled with incurably romantic people, incapable of self-discipline and organization, wallowing in medievalism, lay like a fictional fog upon the minds of editors and press writers when the revolutionary forces gathered momentum in early 1931. Our big business explorers, who had tactfully allowed Primo de Rivera to overthrow Spanish law so they might reap monopolistic profits, filled our press with praise of the dictatorship; Dr. James Brown Scott, on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, had dined with Primo and returned to laud him.

If any inhabitant of the British Isles knew the most elementary fact about Spain on the eve of the revolution, it must have been by grace of mental telepathy. An exception might be the readers of the *Manchester Guardian*, whose correspondent was able and informed; as for the rest of the British journals, they vied with each other in handing out lush yarns about the beneficent Alfonso and his British Ena. Even that staid, anachronistic magazine, *The Nineteenth Century*, ran in its issue of April, 1931 (the month of the overturn) an article written obviously less than five weeks before the crisis, by the renowned R. E. Gordon George, almost totally wrong on every important point. He said, of the Catalonians, "Senor Macia,

the most dangerous, no longer counts among them." Macia was elected president of Catalonia by an overwhelming vote. Listing the men who might theoretically lead a revolution and dismissing them one by one, this writer failed to consider a single one of the great figures who later organized the revolutionary government, among them some of the world-famous scholars of the country!

AS if a magic button had been pressed, the newspapers of France began a fanfare of lies and alarmism the moment the victory of the revolutionists was apparent. Indirectly, by infiltration and repetition, the French attitude influenced American writers and the American public. So did the British attitude. Gordon George, under his pen name of Robert Senecourt, soon published abroad and here a scandalously inaccurate pro-monarchist book, *The Spanish Crown*, in which, among misstatements too numerous to mention, he describes how, at the time of the King's downfall, "the mob howled and screamed before the palace yelling for blood" while the poor Queen was inside—an incredibly crude libel, which I know to be egregiously false because I was standing in front of the palace myself at that very moment. Yet the *New York Times*, in its issue of June 12, 1932, devotes more than a page of its book review section to this shameless volume. The *London Daily Telegraph*, sober conservative sheet, ran a year after the revolution a series of articles by the late Dr. E. J. Dillon, whose scholarly background did not prevent him from exercising a vivid imagination; articles which, if written as untruthfully about the United States, would probably have been the cause of diplomatic protests. To quote him just once: "The proclamation of the Republic in Spain was the signal for a veritable saturnalia. Restraints were thrown to the winds, laws were violated, crimes were not only committed without scruple, but were deemed to be proofs of loyalty to the new regime." Worse: the *London Daily Herald*, theoretically an organ of labor but probably the worst tub-thumping proponent of nationalistic complacency on British soil, after publishing "reports" of the revolution which were nothing short of screamingly funny for their inventiveness, greeted the *Cortes'* enlightened divorce law with this heading: "Wives Swamp Spain's Courts with Demands for £40 Divorces." Lawyers, we read, were "reaping a golden harvest." What is the truth? During the first year of the new divorce laws, which permit dissolution of marriages by *mutual consent*, 260 requests for divorce were made in the entire province

of Madrid, of which 228 were complied with. The old divorces by the Rota numbered nearly as many; be it noted that of this 228, 105 were granted to couples who had already lived apart for years.

IN the twenty-seven months of its existence, the Spanish Republic has survived a series of separate drives against its permanence. It has reduced the royalists to impotence; it has risen above separatism by genuine statecraft; it has republicanized army and navy; it has survived revolutionary strikes by disaffected anarcho-sindicalists who have no concrete program but who are powerful.

There remained one potent enemy of the republic, and only one. That was the group of the higher clergy, who have never in their hearts accepted the vista of a future in which they were to be stripped of their extraordinary powers. To block the revolution, they massed their forces under the Primate, Cardinal Segura, who built up astutely just before the fateful elections of April 12, 1931, a series of pronouncements by Church dignitaries, culminating in advice to vote only for the honest candidates, which he asserted to be the monarchists. It is a noteworthy fact, which must never be lost sight of in evaluating Spanish events, that the majority of the Catholics voted and worked for the revolutionists against the urgings of their own higher-ups. In the face of this situation, hoping against hope that by some miracle the *Cortes* might not pass the proposed restrictive legislation, the Pope quieted his more obstreperous counter-revolutionaries and apparently accepted with grace the trend of affairs. But when it was clear that the Jesuits were gone for good as an order, that the enormous (and disgraceful) Church treasures and properties amounting perhaps to \$500,000,000 were to be nationalized, even though allowed to remain in Catholic hands, that church-owned profit-making industries were to be seized, that all state support of the Church was to be cut off and tax exemptions to be abrogated, that cemeteries were to be secularized so as to permit burial according to any religion or none, and especially that the Catholic youth of Spain was to be delivered from the exclusive tutelage of the Roman Church, then what was tantamount to a moral *putsch* was launched.

The sequence of events is of no scant interest. First, an increasing wave of protest within Spain. Second, an interview between the Pope and the Ex-King! Finally, the excommunication (held up, threatened, carried through, modified, in bewildering confusion) of all Catholics responsible for the new laws, followed by an elaborate ceremony canonizing a Frenchman who was martyred while defending the rights of the Church during the French Revolution! All this, on the face of it, looked stupendously clever. It was, however, exceedingly crude. The Pope, who has shown at times a great deal of statesmanship, had

terribly blundered. Even in the eight charges hurled at the revolutionary government, he was injudicious enough to lead off with the separation of State and Church!

The new regulations are admittedly severe. They deserve to be, they have to be. It is most regrettable that American Catholics should permit themselves, as they often have, to be aligned with the wing of the Spanish Church which is so unrealistic as not to see the historic rôle of Catholicism in Spain; to adopt an attitude more conservative than that of countless Catholics in Spain itself. There is no use in saying, as some have said, that hereafter the Church cannot teach; it can teach in actuality outside secular school hours but it cannot completely govern the educational life of any Spanish child. Nor should it; for that Church in Spain has too long bred monarchists, spread intolerable superstition, and blinked at terrible wrongs. I write as one who has stoutly defended American Catholicism against bigotry and as one, too, who appreciates, as I think anyone must, the Spanish Church's long service to the arts, and the ministry of brotherhood practiced humbly at great sacrifice by thousands of the local clergy.

PRESIDENT ZAMORA yielded, in early June, to Catholic pressure and dismissed the Azaña ministry. What then? Press reports, galore, of a great "swing to the Right". Lerroux would doubtless come in—Lerroux, that able champion of extreme Republican conservatism. All the forces everywhere who have predatory or particularistic aims were mentally licking their chops in anticipation of a prodigal reaction. Yet what could Zamora do? There were the huge trade unions massed solidly behind the Socialists a million strong, those unions which, on May Day, had tied up the normal life of Spain so that not a wheel moved and every city was dead. To those who knew, this was a rehearsal of what would certainly happen if the revolutionary program were deserted. Consequently, after Indalecio Prieto, the Minister of Public Works, made a half-hearted gesture at forming a cabinet farther to the Left, Azaña's cabinet was returned. The Church right wing, the monarchists, the big business men, the nobility and landholders, sighed sadly, noting however that it could have been worse.

The coalition program will go on. It will go on, probably, no matter how often Mr. Frank Kluckhohn, Madrid correspondent for the *New York Times*—a paper so fine that it ought to know better—cables over that the Spanish Socialists "want to destroy the church completely and set up a social organization in which physical well-being is more important than spiritual." It will go on no matter how often *The Red Book* prints articles based on interviews with the Ex-King and Ex-Queen which, to say the least, reveal a royal tendency to invade the realm of imaginative literature.

It will go on even if American publishers continue to bring out, as they have since the revolution, two books favorable to it as against four which are royalist in tone.

The case of the *Times* is of special interest, chiefly because of this paper's extraordinary and justified prestige. Shortly after the Russian revolution, *The New Republic* strikingly summarized the numerous bits of propaganda which passed in the *Times* for news about the Soviet Union. The daily finally made amends by sending to Russia Walter Duranty, whose dispatches have been a credit to journalism. A similar change is sorely needed with respect to Spain. Mr. Kluckhohn's bias is evident; it speaks through such sentences as these (August 21, 1932): "In one respect the (Sanjurjo) movement had an unhappy effect. . . . Now the government may see fit to adopt more radical measures." Of the government which has perhaps made more distinguished appointments than any other before it in any country, this writer says (January 1, 1932): "By throwing out old office-holders and substituting grateful nobodies, they have endeavored to consolidate their control. . . ." What is here complained of is, of course, the process of "republicanization".

Most conspicuous of all, however, was the *Times'* handling of the important controversy between our government (on behalf of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company) and the revolutionary regime in Spain, a subject I dealt with in an article in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* of December 21, 1932.


UNFORTUNATELY, there have been, not uniformly sound criticisms, but unintelligent sneers from radicals in this country and Great Britain. Many a Tovaritch, forgetting Stalin's Rolls-Royce, has found it possible to chuckle wickedly at the costly cars used by Spanish cabinet ministers, each equipped with radio and a guard (or, for propaganda purposes, a "footman"). They forget another thing: that the government has to be, and ought to be, ready for instant action; it is still in a revolutionary period. It is a favorite device of Socialist-baiters to couple some error, real or supposed, with the government by calling it "Socialist-dominated". Notwithstanding the power residing in the Socialist unions and the fact that the Socialist Party is the largest out of many, Socialists are in a minority in the *Cortes* and have three cabinet members out of ten.

Another favorite legend, sponsored editorially by *The Nation*, is the similarity between the Spanish and the German revolutions. One group of Socialists collaborated, and lost; therefore the other must. But the German revolution came at the end of a war in a country with an enormous middle class; the fact that Dr. Besteiro, who did not favor collaboration, received 48 per cent of the Party's vote for chairman at the last convention, as against 52 per cent for Cabal-

lero, who has supported collaboration for as long a time, merely, as may be required to implement the radical constitution, shows how different is the spirit. Spain's young Socialists are not being drained away into communism; the marvellous post-revolutionary tripling of party membership has been paralleled by the growth of the Young Socialists from 6,000 to 18,000.

Another legend, fostered by an article by Mr. Bailey W. Diffie in *The Nation*, is that "The Republic promised them a 'new deal'." That is, the workers. "They have not got it." They have not got it yet, completely, in Spain any more than they have in Russia. Fernando de los Rios, Socialist leader, once told the workers and peasants that for a time the revolution would doubtless make their condition worse instead of better. But let us see. About a thousand important strikes have occurred since the departure of the King. Of these, 93 per cent were won by the workers. Why? Because the new labor code, based on the radical labor clause of the constitution, places the government not in a neutral position but squarely on the side of labor. Wages have risen in the mining areas of the Asturias, as shown by statistics compiled by our own Labor Department at Washington. Income taxes have been instituted. Overtime for agrarian workers has been either abolished or heavily penalized by overtime pay. Courts have been established which can adjudicate complaints. Labor has the right directly to intervene in business management. Twenty thousand new schools have been set up for the children of workers. A vast program of social insurance is being worked out. Penal reforms have been instituted. Women have been legally freed. War has been abolished save by referendum and after pacific devices have been tried. The Institute of Agrarian Reform has been slow in expropriating lands; but it found that fairness demanded a census of agricultural resources and men, and its vast program of increased productivity and farmer-education has at least been tied up with expropriation to the point where, last March, 254 grandees and other large landowners (cleverly taken from among Alfonso's close supporters) were formally notified by proclamation that their lands are to be taken first. The job will be done.

The non-Socialist progressives are, I believe, wrong in the view that socialism can be reached and maintained "within capitalism". Socialist collaboration should cease when the implementing laws are passed and the institutions to socialize the state legally are erected. Too much has been spent on the dream of mechanizing the army and on Minorca's forts—not even if it is true that Mussolini's quarrels with France endanger the Balearics. But on the whole, miracles are being accomplished, and in the face of obstacles which the critics, of both the Right and the Left, might profitably cease to ignore.



Not in the

Back to 1916 Level

The total national *wealth* of the United States in 1932 was 247 billion dollars, estimates the National Industrial Conference Board. Figures for earlier years were: 361 billions in 1929, 362 billions in 1925, 488 billions in 1920, 251 billions in 1916. In 1932 the average wealth per person was \$1,981.

The total national *income* in 1931 was 52 billion dollars, as compared with 85 billions in 1929, and 33 billions in 1914. The average annual income per person in 1931 was \$424, and the average income per gainful worker was \$1,067.

In German Schools

In Thuringia, reports *Nie Wieder Krieg*, all teachers are compelled to close the school week with the following exercise. The teacher says: "Hear the article which Germany's enemies have designed in order to disgrace us forever." Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles is then read, whereupon the children reply in chorus: "This German disgrace shall burn in our souls until the day of honor and freedom arrives." One teacher refused to carry out this program and was promptly dismissed. Parents who object to having their children participate in this ceremony are fined 30 marks every week.

Labor's Opportunity?

According to *Facts for Workers*, the monthly economic publication of the Labor Bureau, Inc., "The National Industrial Recovery Act as drafted with the approval of the Administration and introduced by Senator Wagner, offers labor the greatest opportunity to exert collective influence on wages, hours, and standards of employment which it has ever had in the United States. Collective bargaining not only receives complete legal sanction but is enforceable by the power of the government. It gives labor the opportunity to organize and make its organization effective which it has sought since the beginning of the labor movement. But what industry can yield to the workers in the way of better working and living conditions, however, ultimately depends on the way in which industry itself is organized, managed and directed. Industry, labor and government must use the powers under this bill to bring about real recovery in order that it shall be of benefit. Are they capable of doing so? This is a grave question."

Capitalistic Economics

From *Die Wahrheit* we take the following summary: In Canada over 2,000,000 bushels of wheat were burnt. In Australia 800,000 healthy sheep were killed and buried. In Mexico thousands of bunches of bananas were destroyed. In Egypt 100,000 tons of cotton were burnt. In Brazil hundreds of thousands of sacks of coffee were dumped into the ocean. In Brittany the fishermen threw back into the sea 500,000 herring after a very successful fishing expedition.

Nearly Seven-Billion Decrease

Gross farm income in the United States dropped \$6,800,000,000 from 1929 to 1932, reports the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture.

The Record of the Tories

The truth about the "improvement of conditions" under the present Nationalist government in Great Britain is shown by figures drawn from the Minister of Health last May, showing that the number of persons on poor relief in England and Wales on August 1, 1931, was 975,616, while on April 29, 1933, the number had risen to 1,330,100. This represents an increase of 354,484 since the National government came into power.

French Pacifism

War resistance has been moving forward with such a rapid pace in France that the government has taken official (and secret) cognizance of it. Only because the *Echo de Paris* had the enterprise and the indiscretion (as a conservative, anti-pacifist paper) to print a recent government order, has it become known that the authorities have warned all local officials of the menace of the growing war resistance movement and urged them to do whatever can be done to counteract it. *Le Semeur*, *La Patrie Humaine*, and *La Volonté*, the first two pacifist papers and the last sympathetic and tolerant of pacifism, have had some influence, though French pacifists attribute the anti-war trend to such groups as the War Resisters' International, the French Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Catholic groups headed by Marc Sagnier, the Friends, and the general revolt against the prevailing militarism. One of the newer evidences of interest in pacifism which is bothering the government is the thousands of protests received whenever a war resister is sentenced; another is the circulation of appeals to holders of mobilization books to turn them in, a symbol of war resistance which itself is punishable by eight days in jail.

Bahais Persecuted in Turkey

Members of the Bahai religion have recently been arrested in Turkey and will be brought to trial, charged with "aiding communism and internationalism." For the Bahais, who hold to one of the most enlightened and pacifistic set of principles ever adopted by any religious body, this is a harking back to the days when, before the Young Turks drove out the Sultan, Bahai leaders were kept in captivity for many years.

Bontemps Wins Opportunity Award

The journal of Negro life, *Opportunity*, which has done so much to foster the development of the arts among Negroes, has awarded its 1933 Literary Prize to Arna Bontemps for his story, "A Summer Tragedy," published in *Opportunity* for June. Mr. Bontemps also has been twice winner of the Alexander Pushkin Poetry Prize, offered by *Opportunity*. Honorable mention was awarded to Henry B. Jones, Marita O. Bonner, and Eugene Gordon. Ninety-five per cent of all the manuscripts entered were short stories.

Sweden Deals With Private Armies

A committee of experts constituted by the Swedish Social-Democratic government has just reported on ways and means of restricting the possibility for private individuals to possess weapons. This committee had as its terms of reference the broad question of measures to prevent the rise and continued existence of private armed corps. The preliminary report envisages a new inventory of the weapons at present in the hands of private individuals, intensified control, and limitation of the acquisition of such weapons as well as a more severe system of penalties.

Belgium Girds for Suppression

Worried by a rising movement of war resistance and still nervous over the great radical strike of 1932, the Belgian government is daily turning more and more toward the tactics of suppression by force. According to the International Anti-militaristic Commission, the gendarmerie, which has hitherto been directed by the civil authorities, is to be transferred to the General Staff of the army. Regiments are kept close to great industrial centers, in readiness for trouble. Barracks are equipped with a stock of linen placards which read: "Look out! The soldiers are going to shoot," "Machine guns here," etc. Gendarmes were formerly expected to disperse rioters or demonstrators; they are now charged with the task of "crushing" them.

Headlines

California 30-Hour Bill

Governor Rolph has signed bills which provide for a 30-hour week on public construction projects until July, 1935, or until the end of the economic emergency.

Pacifist Youth in Conference

Following on the youth conference held in Denmark last summer, the Youth Secretariat of the War Resisters' International is organizing a conference to take place in Paris, from August 3 to 5. Delegates will be invited from all organizations which accept the principles laid down at the Denmark conference, which called for radical assertion of active non-violence, against both war and the present economic order. In addition, two youth camps will be held, one in the Valley of Chevreux, near Paris, from August 5 to 12; and the other in Czechoslovakia, at Brünn, from August 15 to 22.

Picketing the Munitions Makers

Mrs. Elsa Tudor and Mrs. Ruth E. Mowry of Boston, in their determined effort to arouse public opinion with respect to the role played in war and peace by the makers of war materials, have started a crusade to picket one munitions plant after another, interviewing officials of the companies, and presenting the issue to many local people who otherwise would not hear about it.

Inadequate Relief Protested

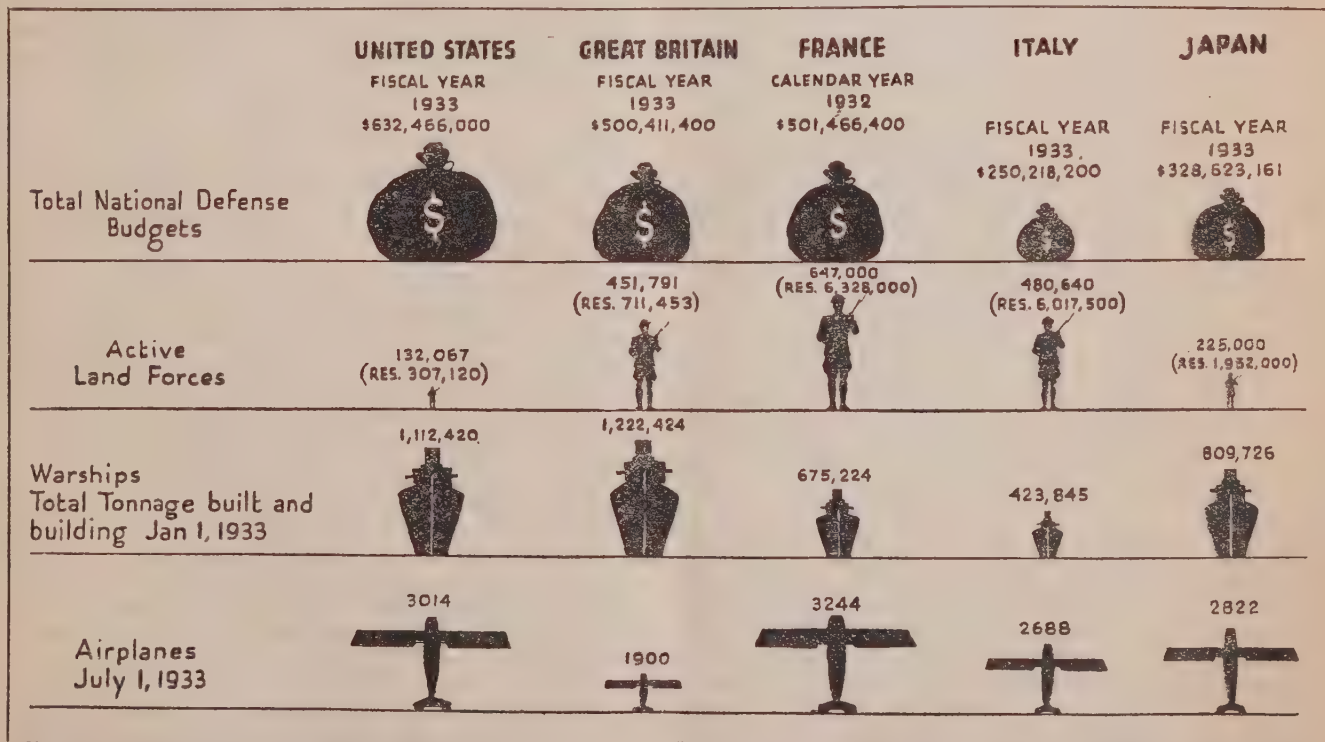
Over 100 outstanding citizens in New York City have signed a protest to the Mayor against the city government's failure to pay rents for its dependent families. This protest was initiated by the Federal Council of Churches and was occasioned by the increasing number of evictions which are placing hundreds of families of unemployed on the streets.

Arms Profits

Automobiles netted slight profits to the Hotchkiss firm in France during 1932, states a message to the *New York Times*, but on the other hand, profits on armaments were ample, the firm's stock netting a 60-franc dividend. In part, the reason for the good business in arms, declares the concern's head, lay in its development of superior machine guns, which have been in great demand.

Federal Council Secures President Wooley

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America announces that President Mary E. Wooley of Mount Holyoke College, a member of the United States delegation to the first session of the World Disarmament Conference, has consented to serve as chairman of its Department of International Justice and Goodwill.



The above illustration gives a comparison of the national defense budgets, and the peace time strength of armies (trained reserves in parenthesis), the strength of the navies, including ships built and building, and the number of military airplanes, of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy. The data is derived from latest information received by Government sources. In the event of national emergencies these armies, ships and airplanes for the most part would be available immediately. Treaty allowances for battleships are not shown, but these are fixed at 1,186,200 tons for the United States, 1,201,700 for Great Britain, and 763,000 for Japan. France and Italy, which did not ratify the London Treaty as it related to cruisers, destroyers and submarines, are limited to 175,000 tons in capital ships.

—Reprinted from the *United States News*.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Why Tolstoy Left Home

The Tragedy of Tolstoy. By Countess Alexandra Tolstoy. Yale University Press. 294 pp. \$3.00.

"OUR closest neighbors—the peasants of Yasnaia Poliana—were the farthest away from father's influence." So writes Tolstoy's daughter Alexandra, but she might have added with equal truth that there were persons within his own household who were still farther away. This account of the declining years of Tolstoy's life, revealing the increasing strain he was under because of his wife's complete inability to understand him, is a tremendously moving drama.

From the psychiatric point of view, the book is a full case history of two tortured souls united by a fundamental love, yet tearing and wounding each other continually because of their divergent motives and standards, until the final separation came. Alexandra, or Sasha as she was called, was a younger daughter in the family, who only gradually came to occupy the place of confidence and responsibility in her father's life that her older sister Masha had had before the latter's marriage took her away. She recounts charmingly and vividly her early childhood memories of life in the big family, the many people coming and going, the playfulness and humor of her father and the loving care of her mother. But even to the children the difference in their parents' point of view was perfectly plain. Sofia Andreyevna, the mother, was always the patrician, orthodox ecclesiastically and socially, and concerned that the family should live in its proper state; while Lev Nikolayevich chose simplicity of dress, food and life, and cared nothing for the artificial distinctions of society.

Sasha herself was early drawn into the troubled waters by learning through a nursemaid that she was an unwanted child whom her mother had tried to destroy before birth. Although this tended to estrange her from her mother and led her into closer sympathy with her father, she never adopted her father's views, but was drawn to him simply by a deep personal affection and loyalty.

We do not get here any setting forth of Tolstoy's philosophy nor of the part he played in the world of ideas. Chertkov, who edited his writings, comes into the picture briefly, for Sofia Andreyevna was intensely jealous of his place in her husband's affections, and certain "gloomy young Tolstoyans" are mentioned; but in general the drama, for such it is, moves only within the family's circle.

The portrait we get of Tolstoy is that of a kindly old man, deeply sensitive, devoted to a cause which to him is greater than the demands of family life. For the last thirty years of his life—and he died at 82—he tried to live as simply as he believed Jesus would have done, and at the same time he tried to keep from breaking with a family which did not share his convictions and lived very differently. Torn between the two loyalties, he

showed tremendous patience and a very real spirit of understanding and forgiveness, even when his wife browbeat him and developed hysterics in order to get him to give her his diaries, which her troubled conscience led her to fear would show her to the world in an unfavorable light. That Tolstoy refused to get a copyright on his writings because he wanted to share his thoughts with the whole world, incensed his wife especially, but the old man stayed by his determination to "combat her with love." Naturally one does not get a pleasant picture of Sofia Andreyevna, beside herself at times, tormenting the man she loved; yet Alexandra deals very fairly with her, sensing the maladjustment of her personality.

After wanting for thirty years to break away and threatening it many times, Tolstoy at 82 finally claimed for himself the right to a peaceful end and left the family estate, letting only Sasha know his destination. But a cold and pneumonia seized upon him on the railway journey, and, after but ten days of freedom, rang down the curtain upon his life. The gathering crescendo of the struggle between the two personalities and the final climax in the gesture of escape, with its victory for the aged man, form a sequence of penetrating power.

PAUL JONES

On the Rim of the U.S.S.R.

The Red Flag at Ararat. By Agavnie Yeghenian. Woman's Press. \$2.00.

MANY of those who look into this account of what the Communists are doing in the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia will experience a psychological revolution that breaks down an old association of ideas: Armenia and oppression. Miss Yeghenian, who is herself Armenian, though American-born, went back to the land of her fathers for an intensive view of Sovietism, and now reports: "The dream of the poets for a free Armenia has at last come into being under Soviet rule." While not a Communist, she comes to the conclusion that "It is this feeling of security that has turned a veritable death house where the Armenian people were doomed to perish, into a house of resurrected people with hope written large on their faces."

It is a pity that the first thirty pages of the book were not omitted. They contain the most superficial tourist observations on the author's trip en route to Armenia. It is also to be regretted that she permits herself frequent observations on American life, since she lacks that critical estimate of American affairs which would have spared us the pain of such comments as this: "But our press is free; we have freedom of speech." And this: "All the working girls in America are well dressed." Speaking of the Armenian Communists' conception of America, she says: "The specific legends built out of these fundamentals were 'Sacco and Vanzetti,' 'lynching Negroes,' and 'the ten million unemployed.'" It's too bad that Sacco and Vanzetti and the Negroes

and the unemployed here do not realize that they are only Communist legends made in the Soviet Union for the purpose of discrediting capitalism in the United States.

The lines of progress which the author found in Soviet Armenia are those which have been recorded elsewhere in the Soviet Union. "The best (butter, cheese, eggs and fruit) had to be contributed to the export trade in exchange for the precious machines that must be imported. Still there was enough left in the country for home consumption. . . . The House of Improvement (prison) is a self-governed educational and social institution. . . . The monastery has now been appropriately turned into an artists' rest and summer home. . . . Two new industries, textiles and tobacco, are being developed under the present reconstruction plan by planting the varieties of cotton and tobacco which will grow best in the Armenian soil. . . . Irrigation, hydro-electricity and education are the new gods before whom the young sons and daughters of the ancient Armenians bow. . . . Rebuilding is going on at a furious pace."

To those who had come to believe the hostile propaganda that Moscow was the specially privileged center of the Soviet Union, where development and socialist construction have the special point of "convincing" American tourists, this account of all-round social achievement at the rim of the Union, where tourists rarely venture, will, or should, be distinctly educational.

J. B. MATTHEWS

CORRESPONDENCE

Communism in China

DURING my last visit in the United States one of the questions most frequently asked of me was, "Will communism succeed in China?" or, "Will China turn communist?" Now that diplomatic relations between China and Russia have been resumed, this is not an inopportune time to take stock of the communistic influence in our country.

First of all, it is desirable to know just what people mean when the term "communism" is used. In China the term has four connotations. All radicals and those "agin" the government are often indiscriminately dubbed "Reds" or "Communists." Then the term is sometimes used to mean the Red "terrorism" of murder and destruction which is so often characteristic of a communistic upheaval, especially in its earlier stages. A third connotation is the Marxian philosophy and theory of economic organization of human society. Lastly, the term is also used loosely to indicate the communistic experiment and achievements in Soviet Russia, especially in the so-called Five Year Plan.

The first of these four connotations we may dismiss at once as being irrelevant. We shall pass over the second with the remark that, thus far, terrorism has seemed to be a part of the communistic program in China and that it is this element which has made the Communist party so much hated by the average Chinese. But communism in the third and fourth aspects deserves our closer study. Let us take the favorable factors first.

The first of these is to be found in the economic life in China. As a nation predominantly agricultural, we are face to face today with the growing disintegration of our rural economic system, which is steadily reducing a large portion of our rural population to a life of hopeless penury. This in turn is driving many rural workers into the cities as job-hunters, thereby creating in the cities a condition of congestion and unrest. Such a situation throws both the village and town open to the Communists. If

our government cannot find a way out of this rural economic problem in the near future, then, to many people, communism will seem to be the only alternative. In my opinion this is the strongest factor in the general situation which favors the growth of communism in China.

A second factor favoring this growth is the rule of war-lords. Since the Revolution of 1911 military leaders have lived off the land and misgoverned it by usurping the authority of the civil arm of the government. This misgovernment has taken largely the form of over-taxation and inadequate protection of life and property against banditry. Again, unless something is done in this situation, communism will seem to many to be the lesser evil of the two.

A third factor favorable to communism is that in our intellectual life we have long been familiar with the idea of communal organization and the equalization of property, particularly land. Several communistic experiments were recorded in Chinese history at various times. It is, therefore, not surprising that communistic ideas have had a ready entree into student circles in China today.

A fourth factor in favor of the growth of communism in China lies in the international situation, particularly in the aggressive pressure from Japan. Her military aggression against China in Manchuria is not only useless in checking the infiltration of communism from Russia but creates the very opportunity desired by the Communists by throwing the Chinese into Russian arms. For the Russian policy in the Far East must appear quite innocuous when contrasted with the things Japanese militarists have been doing to our land and people in Manchuria. This has already borne fruit in the recent resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Russia, suspended since 1929.

Now let us turn to consider those factors in the general situation which are unfavorable to the success of communism in China:

1. The social ethical code of China, developed over a period of nearly two thousand years, exalts virtues such as filial piety, respect for age and learning, and chastity and obedience in women, and emphasizes tolerance and benevolence in the mutual relations between man and man and propriety for all classes. When the Communists murder and loot in the name of communism and show their contempt for China's traditional ethical code by preaching against filial piety and practicing free love among themselves, they are butting their heads against a stone wall. The strongest bulwark against communism in China is not political and military suppression but that sense of decency and propriety so strongly ingrained in us through twenty centuries of ethical training.

2. The Communist Party in China has been in existence as an organized movement since 1920. In organization and program it is perhaps the most compact and efficient political party in existence. But it is essentially a mass movement, and as such requires a new type of leadership as well as following. These elements are absent in the general situation in China. The Communist Party here is dealing with an undisciplined mass through an untrained leadership. Such a combination of handicaps is enough to cripple even a popular political movement, and the Communistic Movement in China has already outlived its days of popularity (1923-27).

3. The close connection of the Chinese Communist Party with the Third International is another factor against its success in this country. Its program for China is hatched in Moscow. When national feeling is so strong in China as it is at this moment, any political party which takes orders from

an extra-national source is bound to be working under a serious handicap.

4. Ever since 1927 the Communist Party has been torn by a series of violent internal dissensions. These have seriously affected the strength of the party and they show no sign of abatement.

During the last years, the Communist Party has been breaking up internally. Some of their most important leaders have turned back upon the Party and are coöperating with the government agents in rounding up their own members. This has led to the discovery and break-up of many of their secret headquarters scattered all over the country and to the apprehension and execution of some of their most important leaders. Whether the Communist Party will ever recover from this serious blow is quite open to doubt. I think the Communist movement will degenerate for some time to come into the status of the "Liu Kou" or roving bandits.

Peiping, China.

T. Z. Koo.

Help the L. I. D.

THE League for Industrial Democracy has just concluded its most important year of educational activity in behalf of a better social order. During the year, members of our staff have spoken at over 100 colleges and universities before tens of thousands of college students and have aided in the organization and strengthening of scores of student groups. We have conducted L. I. D. Lecture Courses, with the coöperation of representative sponsoring groups, in 45 cities from Rhode Island to Kansas and Georgia, and have brought to the service of these communities some of the ablest thinkers of the day.

Everywhere we have found a response to our message far greater than in former years. But while the depression has led increasing thousands to realize the vital importance of our message of a planned social order on the basis of production for use and not for profit, it has forced a number of our supporters to cut their contributions and has brought us face to face with a serious financial situation.

The League needs to raise in contributions and pledges \$15,000 more than is now in sight if it is to pay its pressing salary, printing and other bills and if it is to continue its present effective activities in behalf of a new social order.

May we ask those interested in the continuance with full vigor of this important work immediately to send us in this critical situation a generous check or pledge. Checks should be made out to Stuart Chase, Treasurer, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

New York, N. Y. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, JOHN DEWEY,
STUART CHASE, PAUL BLANSHARD, NORMAN THOMAS,
MARY FOX, HARRY W. LAIDLER.

From Resolutions to Action

ANOTHER cold-blooded killing in the coal fields! Barney Graham, president of the local of the United Mine Workers of America, was shot and killed by company gunmen in the streets of Wilder, Tennessee.

I visited Wilder with Dr. Alva W. Taylor and Howard Kester and we drove around with Barney Graham the day before he was shot. In all my observations in the coal fields I have never seen a more squalid camp, more desperate poverty or more brutal opposition to organized labor than at Wilder.

It seems to be one thing to pass resolutions on these subjects in

church assemblies, or to write articles about them in the liberal press, but quite another to claim these rights in the coal fields. Barney Graham paid the price. Will not your readers help to support his family and the other families at Wilder? Checks may be sent to William B. Spofford, Church Emergency Relief Committee, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Send clothing to Howard Kester, 4010 Minnesota Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Please act quickly.

New York, N. Y.

JAMES MYERS, *Secretary*
Church Emergency Relief Committee

National Convention of Unemployed

THE Ohio Unemployed League, now eight months old and growing like a weed, is a federation of 160 local leagues of over 100,000 unemployed workers, farmers and their dependents in the State of Ohio. It is non-partisan, non-discriminatory in membership and self-governing locally. Its chief purpose is to draw unemployed workers into effective groups to bring united pressure upon public officials for adequate and immediate relief; to unite employed and unemployed workers and farmers in genuine labor struggles, and to conduct educational work among them so that through unity of thought and action there will be established ultimately a new society in which economic well-being is assured to everyone.

The work to date will be climaxed by state and national conventions on July 1 to 5 in Columbus, when over 2500 delegates are expected from many states to consider uniform methods of unemployed organization, and to unite workers and farmers on a program of nation-wide action.

The immediate and pressing problem of the League—can you guess?—is finances. We need a modest budget to help us through the plans above mentioned. Volunteer workers, maintenance in the homes of the unemployed, contributed office equipment—all cut expenses to the bone, but we still need a few dollars. There are no membership dues, and so we have to rely on sympathizers still employed. Will readers of this letter please help, and help now, by sending a contribution to Room 401, 8 East Chestnut Street, Columbus, Ohio.

Columbus, Ohio WILLIAM R. TRUAX, *President*

ARNOLD S. JOHNSON, *Director Organization*

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A Holiday Institute

THE Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics announces its summer forum, to be held July 31 to August 12, at Y. M. C. A. Park, Lake Couchiching, Ontario. Organized last year, the Institute aims to provide, as a public service and at reasonable rates, a non-sectarian and non-partisan forum for the study of Canada's economic and political problems. Adequate sporting facilities will be provided to enable guests to combine vacationing with an opportunity for the study of public affairs. Information on accommodations, rates, and agenda may be obtained from the National Council Y. M. C. A., 40 College Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Where to Send Old Books

THE Conference for Progressive Labor Action is appealing for books for miners in the anthracite region. Readers may render a real service to these workers by sending books on social and economic subjects to John Covelskie, Workers' Protective League, Market Street, Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania.

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By E. W. BARNES

A famous scientist and churchman, the Bishop of Birmingham, sets forth the attitude of the modern man of science who, as he hopefully makes theories, is at the same time constantly aware of the reality and the claims of the spiritual world.

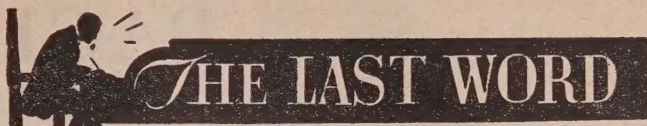
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WE call it "Commencement," yet instead of turning the ceremony over to the nascent leadership of youth, we pile our young people into pews or benches and lecture them with platitudes. Fortunately, none of the graduates ever hears what is being said. My own intentions, as a war-time grad, were honorable; at least, I wanted to see what new excuse the orators would dig up for the justification of human slaughter. I confess, however, my thoughts centered, instead, on the nice problem of whether the rented cap and gown looked as awkward as the bathroom mirror had made them; and whether the odor of creosote which denoted the transformation of the old tan shoes to black ones would rise to the nostrils of the pundits as I passed across the platform to receive the *cum laude* and the sheepskin.

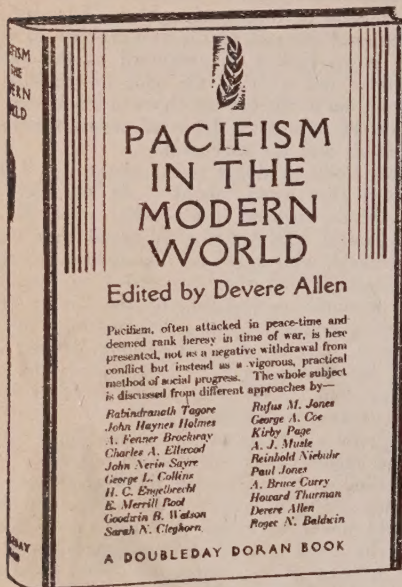
I wonder if a West Point graduate thinks about. . . . Upon reconsideration, eliminate that word "about." At any rate, if any of them do, they must have enjoyed, in a peculiar sense, the charm of the address by General MacArthur. A grand time was evidently had by the General, who urged on the students, as the first article of faith, tolerance; and then proceeded to lambast the "unabashed" and "unsound" propaganda of the "peace cranks." If the pacifists and the economy-seeking politicians have their way, complained the General, "our program of national defense will be nothing but a dusty document in a War Department file." Now that would be just too bad. A War Department exists for war. And what good is war kept under glass?

The General, too, paid a tribute to those who "have met their God on the top of an enemy trench—gentlemen unafraid." That's a strange place for God to be, unless all the war-blessing clergy were in error. Be that as it may, however, I fear that our doughty Chief of Staff would never be found in such an environment; judging by the way he acted when the Bonus Army was driven out of Washington by his patriotic *putsch*, he would be elsewhere holding up the battle while he was changing into spic-and-span attire to be ready for the movie cameras. No, the General will never meet God on the top of an enemy trench; if he ever has an appointment at that rendezvous, it will be with Will Hays.

I HAVE been spraying, lately, to hold back the insect pests that may one day exterminate the human race. Somehow, I don't mind the prospect as much as I used to. For example: J. P. Morgan won first prize in a Long Island flower show for the finest sweet peas; that ought to square everything—unless, by chance, the judges had a preferred list. . . . Last May, as usual, many peace societies celebrated World Good Will Day—anniversary of the first Hague Convention, held on the birthday of Czar Nicholas. . . . Great Britain wants to abolish air bombing, with the exception of her own "police bombing" of colonials; so does Holland, except with reference to her own colonials; so does—but you finish it. . . . The Peace Army in England is still devoted to the idea of preaching sacrificial pacifism by planning to get in between the lines, unarmed, in the next war; but where are the lines in any future war of the air, and how get there? . . . Governor Talmadge takes the air to extol Georgia after sentencing to long terms two Communists for "incitement to insurrection" under an ancient law. . . . Herriot's journal asserts Morgan's favored clients were those who opposed stern reparations; but whose funds did we go into the war to save, also saving France? . . . Bonar Law's son states his father's heart was broken over the debt settlement; why not over Balfour's deceit of Wilson about the secret treaties? . . . Japan asks the world conference to outlaw boycotts; then adopts boycott against Indian goods. . . . Rear Admiral Fiske says he and Pershing are "real" pacifists, not "bogus" like those who have usurped the name; but is it fair thus to leave out Napoleon, Mussolini, Genghis Khan, Attila, and those 1,200 Kentucky colonels of which the Blue Grass country has just boasted? Yours bogusly,

Eccentricus

PACIFISM in the MODERN (Critical) WORLD



CONCERNING *Pacifism in the Modern World*, edited by Devere Allen, Dr. John Herman Randall, Jr., Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, has this to say, writing in "World Unity": "It is doubtful if any single volume has ever raised so many fundamental questions about the practical attitude men shall take toward the fact of war and violence. . . . There is about the volume little of the disjointed character so common in symposiums of this kind; the writer knows of no coöperative book so skilfully edited or so successful in conveying a unified impression. . . . Nowhere has a much-needed task been so well performed."

Obtain this book **FREE**

The retail price of *Pacifism in the Modern World* is \$2.00. By sending in a subscription, either new or renewal, for **THE WORLD TOMORROW**, you may have the book without charge. Simply fill out the coupon below and mail it to us with your check for \$3.00.

Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen: "It is by all odds the most comprehensive and ablest summary which has yet appeared. Personality breaks through logic and argument on almost every page. I found its reading as profitable as it was interesting."

Norman Thomas: "Notable for its vigor and range of its ideas."

Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee: "No one who senses the danger of war and is desirous of working against it while there is still time, should miss this volume."

Labor Age: "The book is one that should be on the reading list of every sincere lover of peace."

Reconciliation (London): "Why did nobody think of this before? . . . The general effect of the book is to rid pacifism of all suggestion of a merely negative attitude. We have needed such a book as this written in clear language for the plain person. We are glad to welcome it."

Dr. Harold Speight: "It will be a great pity if this volume is not read both by those who lean toward pacifistic views and by many who completely misunderstand the position of the pacifist of today."

Florence Brewer Boeckel: "It's the only really exciting peace book I have read in a long time. I resent the fact that I am impelled to read every word."

The Railway Clerk: "One feels exhilarated after reading it."

The New-Church League Journal: "The least this book can do is to point out the difference between old-time pacifism, like that of Lao-Tse, with its policy of withdrawing from social problems instead of grappling with them, and modern pacifism with its positive challenge to imperialism, industrial autocracy, and race prejudice. At best it may implant in earnest readers the belief that 'those who devote themselves to the art of life have no place left for the art of death.'"

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